

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 04109 172243Z
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INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4109

FOR EUR/RPM

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING--WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JUNE 13-17

SUMMARY: BELGRADE CSCE PREPARATORY MEETING OPENED JUNE 15
IN BRAND-NEW SAVE CONVENTION CENTER TO INTENSE MEDIA
INTEREST. MOST OF APPROXIMATELY 350 ACCREDITED JOURNALISTS,
HOWEVER, INCLUDING SOME 50 FROM US, FOUND THAT ONLY NEWS WAS
THAT THERE WAS NO NEWS, CERTAINLY NOT THE SOVIET-US CONFRONTATION
NOR THE SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE ON FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION IN
ANTICIPATION OF WHICH MANY HAD COME TO BELGRADE. DELEGATIONS
SEEMED DETERMINED TO KEEP PREPARATORY MEETING TO TECHNICAL
TASKS DEFINED IN FINAL ACT IN ORDER TO LAY GROUNDWORK FOR MAIN
SUBSTANTIVE MEETING IN FALL. MEETING ADOPTED GENERAL AGENDA
FOR PREPARATORY MEETING SROPOSED BY SAPIN JUNE 17, AN OPENED
DEBE E ON DRAFTING OF AGENDA FOR MAIN MEETING. TO PARTIALLY
COUNTERBALANCE COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT DECISION SHEET CO-SPONSORED
BY UK AND US AT OPENING OF MEETING, SOVIETS INTRODUCED
DRAFT MAIN MEETING AGENDA LANGUAGE WHICH CLOSELY FOLOWED
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 04109 172243Z

FINA ACT BUT WHICH SOUGHT TO BLUR LINE BETWEEN BACKWARD-LOOKING
REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND FORWARD-LOOKING DISCUSSION
OF EVOLUTION OF DETENTE AND POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS. ALLIES WILL
SEEK TO FOCUS DISCUSSION WEEK OF JUNE 20 ON AGENDA PORTION OF
UK-US DRAFT DECISION SHEET WHICH ASSIGNS PRIMARY AGENDA POSITION
TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. OUTLOOK IS FOR LENGTH BUSINEES-LIKE
BARGAINING WITH DELEGATIONS INTERESTED IN COMPLETING PRP-

PARATORY MEETING BY AUGUST 1. END SUMMARY.

1. ATMOSPHERE: BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING OPENED IN FULL GLARE OF EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN PRESS. MOST OF MEDIA WAS INTENT ON DISCERNING SIGNS OF SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL OF REPEATED REMINDERS BY WESTERN DELS THAT MEETING WAS PURELY TECHNICAL. BY END OF WEEK PRESS INTEREST WAS WANING AS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT BOTH EAST AND WEST WERE INTENT ON KEEPING CLOSE TO NARROW MANDATE CONTAINED IN FINAL ACT, NAMELY TO FIX DATE, DURATION, AGENDA AND OTHER MODALITIES OF MAIN MEETING, AND WERE MAKING GENUINE EFFORT TO AVOID POLEMICS. CROATIAN TERRORIST ATTACK ON YUGOSLAV UN MISSION JUNE 14, YUGOSLAV EXPULSION JUNE 15 OF MULTI-NATIONAL GROUP OF WOMEN BEFORE THEY COULD STAGE DEMONSTRATION AT CONFERENCE SITE ON BEHALF OF SOVIET JEWS, AND BOTH CASE PRODUCED NO RIPPLES IN MEETING HALL. MOST OF VISITING PRESS INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE LEAVING BELGRADE OVER WEEK-END. US DEL, LIKE MOST WESTERN DELS, MADE MAJOR EFFORT TO BRIEF PRESS FULLY ON BOTH GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS AND ON DEVELOPMENTS IN MEETING. SOVIETS PLAYED SAME GAME, HOLDING BRIEFING FOR PRESS AT CONFERENCE CENTER JUNE 16 AT WHICH THEY DESCRIBED THEIR OPENING PLENARY STATEMENT IN FULL.

2. TACTICS: ALLIED PLOY OF CIRCULATING COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT DECISION SHEET, WHICH IS ALLIES' IDEA OF WHAT DOCUMENT TO BE ADOPTED BY PREPARATORY MEETING SHOULD LOOK LIKE, HAS BEEN LARGELY SUCCESSFUL. THERE ARE NUMEROUS POINTS OF DETAIL TO BE WORKED OUT WITH ONE OR MORE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS BUT GENERAL FEELING IS ALLIES HAVE DONE MEETING A SERVICE BY TABLING CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 04109 172243Z

AT OUTSET SPECIFIC LANGUAGE ON ALL MAJOR POINTS, SPANISH DRAFT AGENDA FOR PREPARATORY MEETING WAS EASILY ACCEPTED JUNE 17 BECAUSE IT MERELY CATALOGUED PREPARATORY MEETINGS'S TASKS ALREADY SET FORTH IN FINAL ACT. UK-US PAPER, HOWEVER, HAS HELPED MEETING AVOID DAYS OF GENERAL DISCUSSION WHILE DELEGATES GROPED THEIR WAY TOWARD SPECIFIC PROPOSALS.

3. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PUT ON DEFENSIVE. THEY HAVE RESPONDED BY EMPHASIZING THEIR DESIRE TO STICK AS CLOSELY TO FINAL ACT AS POSSIBLE AND TO AVOID ANY AMENDMENT OF THAT DOCUMENT AT EITHER BELGRADE MEETING (A DESIRE SHARED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS). THEY HAVE ALSO INTRODUCED THEIR OWN PROPOSAL FOR AGENDA OF MAIN MEETING WHICH IS WITHIN SAME BALLPARK AS THAT OF ALLIES BUT WHICH BLURS EMPHASIS ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND TREATS AGENDA ITEM ON POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS ONLY OBLIQUELY. NEUTRALS HAVE NOT AS YET INDICATED DESIRE TO PUT FORWARD SPECIFIC DRAFT AGENDA OF THEIR OWN, BUT ARE BEGINNING TO CONSIDER COMPROMISES. PATTERN MAY BE DEVELOPING WHEREBY ALLIED

PAPER FORMS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION ON AGENDA FOR MAIN MEETING;
SOVIETS COME IN WITH PIECEMEAL PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN, AND NEUTRAL/
NON-ALIGNED THEN SET OUT TO PLAY HONEST BROKERS. SUCH A
PROCESS WOULD BE GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO US SINCE NEUTRAL/
NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS ARE CLOSE TO WEST'S.

4. COMMENT: FIRST HALF-WEEK HAS GONE ABOUT AS WELL AS
COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED. MEETING HAS BUSINESS-LIKE,
CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE. CHIMERA THAT SOVIETS WOULD SEEK
TO DELAY DRAFTING OF DOCUMENT ON DATE, DURATION, AGENDA,
AND OTHER MODALITIES FOR MAIN MEETING UNTIL SOME SORT OF
LIMITING POLITICAL CONCEPT WAS AGREED TO OR AT LEAST DEBATE
EXTENSIVELY HAS LAGELY DISAPPEARED. ALLIES HAVE INITIATIVE
AS RESULT OF TABLING COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT DECISION SHEET,
AND WE HAVE ESTABLISHED OPEN RELATION-SHIP WITH PRESS THAT HOPEFULLY
WILL LEAD TO PUBLIC OBTAINING GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF OBJECTIVES
AT LEAST OF PREPARATORY MEETING. NEVERTHELESS WE ARE ONLY
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PAGE 04 BELGRA 04109 172243Z

AT BEGINNING OF A MEETING THAT ALL DELS SEEM TO ACCEPT WILL
RUN TO END OF JULY. SOVIETS ARE PLAYING OUR GAME OF STICKING
TO TECHNICALITIES, BUT EACH OF THEIR COUNTER-PROPOSALS CAN
BE EXPECTED TO AIM AT REDUCING OPPORTUNITY AND JUSTIFICATION
FOR THOROUGH, CANDID REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION THAT WE
WILL BE STRIVING FOR AT MAIN MEETING, AND GIVING THEM OPP-
ORTUNITY TO "ESCAPE FORWARD" TO GENERAL DETENTE DEBATE AND
CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. THE OUTLOOK IS FOR LONG WEEKS
OF GENTLEMANLY NIT-PICKING, THE RESULTS OF WHICH NEVERTHELESS
WILL HAVE A CONSIDERABLE BEARING ON THE PROSPECTS FOR THE
MAIN MEETING THIS FALL.
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